COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"I do not look on the resisting power of the colonists as very formidable. In this, however, I may be "mistaken. But, when I consider, that we have colonies for no purpose but to be serviceable to us, it "seems to my poor understanding a little preposterous, to make them unserviceable, in order to keep them "obedient. It is, in truth, nothing more than the old, and, as I thought, exploded problem of tyranny, "which proposes to beggar its subjects into submission. But, remember, when you have completed your "system of impoverishment, that Nature still proceeds in her ordinary course; that discontent will in-"crease with misery; and that there are critical moments in the fortune of all states, when they, who are "too weak to contribute to your prosperity, may be strong enough to complete your ruin."——BURKE's Speech, 1775, for a conciliation with the Colonies."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS. (Continued from p. 222.) There have been many subjects of great importance discussed, at different times, in this work; but, I recollect no one of greater importance than this. Those who think, that the sooner we lose all our colonies the better, will certainly not feel much anxiety as to the result of the present disputes with Jamaica; but, those who think, that, without colonies, England could not long maintain her naval power, and who, at the same time, perceive (as, I think, they easily may) that *insular* colonies, and those too, situated as near home as possible, are, in every way, the best; such persons will, I am confident, find, in the following pages, matter well worthy of their serious attention, matter calculated, if not to alarm, at least, deeply to interest them.—By a reference to page 222, it will be perceived, that I was proceeding in certain remarks upon the subject of the Jamaica petition, inserted in page 210. Since those remarks were written, there has come into my hands a copy of a paper, published by the Assembly, upon the contents of which paper the petition is founded. Here, indeed, is a full and detailed representation of what is only described in general terms in the petition; and, therefore, it will be of great utility, that an analysis thereof should be laid before the public, in order that a correct judgment may be formed of the grounds of the disputes by which so valuable a colony is now agitated. As much as is consistent with that brevity, which my limits compel me to observe, I shall quote the very words of the paper; because, to judge of the temper in which the representatives of the colony are, we must hear *their own language*. Having thus stated the motive for adhering, as much as may be, to literal quotations, it is not necessary for me to say, that I by no means make the language of the Assembly my own; for, besides that, upon all occasions, perhaps, it might be perfectly proper in the Assembly of Jamaica to speak of the conduct of parliament in a manner that would be quite unbecoming in an individual. I think it will appear, in the course of my observations, that, if the interests of the Assembly had been well attended to in England, by those who ought, in due time, to have attended to them, irritation such as now exists, language such as now is made use of, would have been avoided. At any rate, to judge of the state of their minds, and to form an opinion as to what ought to be done to prevent, ere it be too late, the mischiefs that threaten the colony, we must hear what they themselves say.——The important paper, to which I allude, is entitled, a "Report from a committee of the Honourable House of Assembly, appointed to inquire into the proceedings of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, relative to the Slave Trade, &c." It is dated, "Jamaica, House of Assembly, *Veneris*, 23°. *die Novembris*, 1804," and printed by order of that House. It sets out with describing the purposes for which the committee was appointed; namely; to inquire, 1. Into the steps which have been taken in parliament to abolish the slave trade; 2. Into the measures adopted for equalizing the duties on sugar imported from the East Indies and from the British colonies, and the additional imposts which have been laid upon the principal staples of Jamaica; 3. To consider of the effects which these measures have produced, and are likely to produce, on the agriculture and commerce of Jamaica directly, and indirectly on the manufactures and trade of the mother country; and, to report the facts, with their opinion of the steps which ought to be pursued by the House, in the distressed situation to which the Island is reduced.——After stating that, in pursuing the FIRST object of these inquiries, the committee find that a bill for "the abolition of the slave trade at a time limited" passed the House of Commons on the 27th of June, 1804, and that the second reading of it was, on the 3d of July, postponed for three months, in the House of Lords, they

proceed in these words: "By the bill, as it "passed the House of Commons, the abo- "lition was to take place on the 1st day of "January, 1805; the only reason assigned "in the preamble of the intended act being, "that the slave trade is contrary to the prin- "ciples of justice and humanity. The "committee are, however, well informed "that, although the House of Commons "contented themselves with this bold pre- "amble, the members who introduced and "supported the bill, as has been usual on "former occasions, in their misrepresenta- "tions, mistatements of facts, and their "abuse of the holders of West India pro- "perties; a procedure to which they should "not have called the attention of this "House, but that it seems to have had a "most extraordinary influence on that body, "and, at the very moment they were ap- "pealing to principle, induced them to "swerve from that even-handed justice, "which delights to listen with candour to "the claims made on it by all parties, to "investigate them with patience; and ab- "hors sacrificing the rights and welfare of "one set of men, under the idea of admi- "nistering justice to another." The committee then state the circumstances relating to an application made, on the part of the colony, to be permitted to produce evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, which came, say they, to "the very singular resolution "of rejecting all evidence, assuming, as "they [the committee] are informed, that "no new facts to vary the aspect of our "case, had occurred, except such as were "matter of public notoriety, and that they "were in possession of a sufficient body of "evidence as to the state of the main ques- "tion, alluding, as the committee presume, "to the allegations and assertions, not veri- "fied by oath, on which a similar procedure "of the House was grounded twelve years "before." Here the committee state, that their "*interests were not neglected* on this "occasion;" and they mention a petition which was presented by Mr. Edmund Pusey Lyon, the Agent for the island. If they think that their interests were not neglect- ed, so much the better for them, as far, at least, as content is a good. But, though I certainly know nothing of either the talents or the character of Mr. Lyon, or any other colonial agent; though I by no means wish to insinuate, that they have ever neglected their duty, because it is impossible for me to know the extent of their functions and of their means; yet, it has, I must confess, al- ways appeared to me matter of great asto nishment, that so little, so very little, has, at any time, been done, in this country, to prevent, or to remove, those false impres- sions, which have so powerfully operated against the interests, the peace, and security of the West India planters. We see how vigilant all other bodies of traders are; how watchful they and their agents always are; with what activity and vigour they come for- ward, the moment they perceive even an in- tention to attack them. What a contrast does the conduct of the West Indians pre- sent! All the movements of themselves and of those who, generally speaking, act for them, seem to partake of the lassitude that belongs to the atmosphere they breathe. That this statement is true, that there has been, and yet is, great neglect somewhere, needs no other proof than that which is to be found in the notorious fact, that, of two or three hundred periodical works published in this kingdom, there is not, the Political Register excepted, one which has not been, and is not, hostile to the West India plan- ters. Could this possibly be, unless there were remissness somewhere? The conduc- tors of periodical works sometimes, and, indeed, very frequently, err for want of in- formation. They publish what is written and communicated to them, or what, from information that has been conveyed to them, they are enabled to write themselves. It is absurd to suppose them leagued together against the West India planters, and in fa- vour of the blacks. They may, and do, deeply partake of the popular prejudice upon the subject; but, this is an effect of prior negligence on the part of the West Indians and those to whom their cause has been committed. The conductors of periodical works can have had, originally, and can now have, no interest in lending their pages to the enemies of the West Indies; and, this being admitted, it is quite impossible to ac- count for their conduct, with regard to the subject of the slave trade, upon any other supposition than that of their having been, through the supineness of the West Indians themselves, always left unfurnished with matter, wherewith to take an opposite part from that which they have taken. The com- mittee, whose report I am proceeding to analyse, say: "the particular accusations of "oppression, without the means of redress, "of avaricious and unfeeling rigour exer- "cised towards our slaves, heaped upon "the inhabitants of the British West India "colonies, have been repelled and refuted "by such irrefragable evidence, that they "can now make little impression, *except* on "the *prejudiced* and *uninformed*." This is one of those exceptions that swallow up the

position. The committee might very safely have reversed the statement, and have asserted, that the accusations referred to would continue to make great impression, except upon the well-informed and unprejudiced, under which descriptions, thanks to the want of talent, the want of zeal, or the want of means, in the West Indians and their agents, we may venture to rank ninety-nine hundredths of the people of this kingdom, of all stages and states of life. Now-and-then a dull pamphlet has made its appearance in behalf of the West India planters; but, who reads such performances? They may, some of them, be written in a way that secures the perusal of them by those into whose hands they fall. But, as to numbers of copies, how few are they; and how slowly do they creep out into even the narrow circle, within which they are, at last, confined? Let not the Assembly of Jamaica wonder, therefore, that there is a "popular prejudice" existing here against the slave trade. In short, I am thoroughly convinced, from much observation upon the subject, that there never would have been sufficient ground for the bitter complaints of the planters of Jamaica, if proper means had, in due time, been taken to prevent their grievances; and, those planters may be well assured, that a course, which is *now* pursuing *here*, is not that whereby to obtain redress; nay, that it is the course of all others the best calculated for *prolonging* and *perpetuating* the duration of the hardships and the injuries, of which they complain.—To return to the Report; the committee proceed to combat some of the principal arguments which have been advanced against the continuation of the slave trade. "So ingenious," say they, "is the "malice of our fanatical adversaries, that "when driven from this first and leading "ground" [that of the inhumanity of the planters] "of an application for an abolition "of the slave trade, they have endeavoured "to turn the vindication to our destruction." This endeavour they state to have been made, first, by alleging, that, if the slaves were, as the planters asserted them to be, well treated, the increase by births would be equal to the waste by death and other casualties. This is, the committee state, by no means a fair conclusion; because, as it is well known, the cultivation of the island is continually upon the increase, and must necessarily be so to prevent the ruin of the planters; also because, since the commotions in St. Domingo, coffee has become, in Jamaica, a great article of culture, and, the nature of this culture is such, that, though very few hands are wanted to be employed in it till the plants come to a bearing state, the moment they come to that state great numbers of hands are wanted all at once, and that, of course, so sudden an increase can be made by no other means than those of importation from Africa.—Here I must confess, that I think that the argument of the abolitionists remains unrefuted. The committee fail in their answer; but, the failure arises, not so much from the badness of their ground, as from their having taken a weak position. I say with them, that the conclusion of the abolitionists is not fair; for, the slaves may be very well treated, they may live a thousand times better than they did in their own country, and yet the births may not keep pace with the deaths. It was not judicious to blink the question at all. I am for the candid statement, that the great mortality of the West Indies bids defiance to the principle of population; but, that it does so with regard to whites as well as blacks; and that no one has ever pretended, that the *whites were ill-treated* in the West Indies. It is a principle founded in nature, that, population will, unless checked by some extraordinary means, always keep pace, and, indeed, tread upon the heels of, subsistence. Hence, it is frequently argued, that where those extraordinary and violent checks to population exist, that state of society is vicious, and ought, if possible, to be changed. But, is not this a maxim far too general? How, for instance, will it apply to great cities? No one will say, that the births in London keep pace with the deaths. No one will deny, that, if it were not for continual migrations from the country, London would very shortly be reduced to a moderate size. London contains nearly twice as many inhabitants as the whole island of Jamaica; its unwholesome streets and houses destroy more persons annually, perhaps, than there are Africans imported into Jamaica; but, are we hence to conclude, that, upon the whole, in a humane point of view, the migration to London ought to be abolished? The same may be said of many different trades and manufactories; and, without any very great degree of violence, the maxim would apply to the army and the navy. But, as to the Africans, it is not pretended, I believe, that the constant fresh supply is rendered necessary by the destructiveness of the climate, so much as by the effects of *celibacy*, and other circumstances therewith connected. And, is this *an evil?* A question not to be settled without a discussion, into which, I should think, that even Mr. Wilberforce would not be inclined to enter, at least not very minutely. If he were, how-

ever, it might be quite sufficient to refer him to the profound work of Mr. Malthus, who has not scrupled to recommend *checks to population*, as conducive to the *good* of mankind. Armies and navies operate as powerful checks to the increase of the human species; as preventives to propagation. No one can deny this; yet, for this reason, nobody ever has proposed to abolish armies and navies; nobody pretends that soldiers and sailors are miserable and degraded beings, merely because their state of life tends, as far as they are concerned, to the prevention of the propagation of the species. From the necessity of fresh importations of slaves, no argument, therefore, can, I think, be deduced, in support of the presumption, that they are ill treated in the islands.——Another position which the committee regard as worthy of particular attention, is this: "that "a continued importation of Africans, and "an augmentation of the negro population, "must increase the disproportion between "the inhabitants of free condition and the "enslaved negroes, and add to the dangers of "insurrection and all their fatal train of "consequences." In answer to this, the committee first observe, that the troubles of St. Domingo were, in no degree, occasioned by the recently imported Africans, than which, indeed, no truth can be better established. Every one of the French writers upon the subject; at least, every one that I have read, has explicitly stated, what was besides fully corroborated by the testimony of the unfortunate sufferers, that the *working* negroes were not at all discontented; and that it was with great difficulty that they were induced to take part in the revolt. "These troubles," say the committee, "originated in the bosom of the legislature of "the mother country. The native Africans "were not even the immediate instruments "of those who lighted the torch of discord "and death in that once happy country, but, "with their masters, have been the victims "of ill-timed discussions and insane de-"crees." As to the disproportion between the number of the slaves and that of the inhabitants of free condition, the committee allow, that it is one of the great dangers arising from the state of the West India population; but, they deny, that this disparity is likely to be augmented by a continuance of the trade with Africa, or by a positive increase of the number of slaves imported. They state, that the great cause of inequality is the number of estates belonging to residents in Great Britain, on which estates one agent frequently represents many absentees, and is directed to carry on the cultivation with the smallest possible number of white people; that these absentees, having realised something at home, and being eye witnesses of what is passing annually in parliament, have not, of late years, been purchasers of many additional negroes; that the new-negroes have, for the far greater part, been distributed amongst tradesmen, jobbers, overseers, and other enterprising persons living always in the island; and that, therefore, though the absolute number of slaves has increased, the relative number of free people is much greater than it would have been if no Africans had been imported. "The only means," say they, "by which "that most useful body of men, the over-"seers and book-keepers on plantations, "can acquire a competence, is by purcha-"sing a few negroes (at first generally hired "by their employers on liberal terms), and "gradually adding to the number, until it "be equal to the commencing of a planta-"tion. Take away importation, then, and "you drive from the country the most en-"terprising and intelligent. In future you "would expect in vain adventurers of the "description who have lately resorted to "the island and superintended plantations." Upon this part of the subject, they further state, that the negroes recently imported have been so employed, and that, from the nature of things, those hereafter imported must be so employed, as, by the clearing of woods and the making of new roads, to render any attempts at insurrection much less likely, because attended with much greater difficulties. It is, on the contrary, from a discontinuance of the importation that the committee would apprehend real danger from the disproportion in the numbers of the slaves and the freemen. "If ever," say they, "danger should arise from this source, "it will be when a dereliction of the slave "trade by Great Britain, whilst it is con-"tinued and encouraged by other nations, "shall drive your best tradesmen, most en-"terprising overseers, and small settlers, to "the foreign colonies, or to the southern "part of the United States, and convert "their moderate but thriving plantations, "into haunts for runaways and thieves, "whilst their negroes will be purchased by "a few overgrown proprietors, when, for "reasons already assigned, a further supply "to the white population cannot be ex-"pected; then, indeed, the worst evils will "be at no great distance."...."The in-"justice," continue the committee, "of "purchasing slaves in Africa, and the ex-"pediency of continuing the present negroes "in a state of bondage, until they shall be

" gradually fitted to receive emancipation, " is a distinction much too refined for the " understandings of these latter; but, they " will have no difficulty in understanding, " that " *the great country of the Bocaras* (or " whites) *has refused to permit their masters " to purchase more slaves, and would give " them freedom, were it not opposed by their " owners.*" They will soon see, that the " situation, in which the island is placed, " invites them to assist the wishes of their " friends; and, in such circumstances, the " struggle will not be long, although the " catastrophe will be terrible! Whilst we " turn from it with horror, shall we use no " means to avert such calamities? And " must we submit to be told coolly, by those " who are without its verge, and little in- " volved even in its consequences, that, " blinded by prejudice and avarice, we know " nothing about our own affairs? The com- " mittee hope, that, when the subject is " again under review in the Imperial Parlia- " ment, the House of Commons, if they en- " tertain a question, the very discussion of " which is pregnant with the greatest mis- " chief to us, will enter on it in a different " spirit, and will admit, that, as Britons, " bearing faithful allegiance to our King, " and zealously attached to our country, we " brought with us inherent rights to the " full enjoyment of property lawfully ac- " quired: that these rights, if they could " not be strengthened, were, by royal pro- " clamations and charters, recognized to " exist undiminished in our new situation " as colonists: that, by repeated acts of " parliament, inducements and encourage- " ments have been held forth, on the faith " of which an immense mass of property " has been invested in the West India " Islands for the cultivation of staples high- " ly advantageous to the empire, often with " little profit to the individual: that, but " for assurances, held forth and reiterated " in the most unequivocal manner by the " British legislature, of a constant supply of " African labourers, the settlements of these " islands could never have been attempted, " and the great body of British creditors, " whose fortunes have assisted in opening " the plantations and are now secured upon " them, would not have embarked their ca- " pitals but from an implicit confidence in " the good faith of parliament: that, if " these colonies, which have heretofore been " so advantageous to the mother country, " are to be endangered by the experiments " of fanatics, or the visionary theories of " modern statesmen, wise beyond what is " written!.... If the property of the inha- " bitants is to be destroyed, or even to be " diminished in value, the security of their " creditors frittered away, their lives and " those of their families placed in such a si- " tuation as shall oblige them to retire to " some other part of the world for protec- " tion and safety; if their profitable exist- " ence is thought to be inconsistent with " what is due from the British legislature to " the natives of Africa; if their rights and " property are to be sacrificed at the shrine " of pretended humanity and justice, we " also appeal to enlightened justice for a full " investigation of the damages, which must " follow, for a complete compensation for " the losses, which shall be sustained, and " we claim this as a right, founded on the " clearest principles of justice, and sanc- " tioned by the uniform practice of the Bri- " tish legislature, in all cases where the pro- " perty of individuals has been trenched on, " or diminished in value, by regulations in- " tended for the general benefit. If the " House of Commons, influenced by popu- " lar prejudice, and led away by declama- " tion, shall disregard our solemn appeal to " its justice, which we never should have " insinuated to be possible, but for the de- " cision above alluded to, we trust to an " impartial investigation by the House of " Lords, where the test of an oath will pro- " tect us from much of the misrepresenta- " tion which has been called evidence in " the other House. We have confidence, " that they will maturely weigh the claims " of all parties, and that, in distributing jus- " tice with mercy to the sons of Africa, they " will not forget the unfortunate, the de- " graded, the perilous, situation, to which a " hasty decision may reduce thousands of " British subjects, against whom no delin- " quency can be proved." The committee conclude this part of their report, with re- commending to the House of Assembly to cause their Agent in England to be instruct- ed to make every legal exertion in his power to prevent the passing of the act of parlia- ment, to which allusion is made; and that, if the act should, nevertheless, be passed, to endeavour to obtain a due inquiry into the losses which shall be sustained by the inha- bitants of the colony, and to procure a pro- vision for making full compensation for the destruction or diminished value of their pro- perty.——The SECOND object of the com- mittee's inquiries, is, the measures adopted, in the mother country, for equalising the duties on sugar imported from the East In- dies and on that imported from the West In- dia colonies, and also the additional imposts which have been laid upon the principal sta-

ples of Jamaica. With regard to the first of these, it is stated; that, after Great Britain had obtained dominion in the East Indies, the duty of £37. 16. 3. on every £100 of gross sales was continued on sugar imported thence, while she imposed only 6s. 4d. per cwt. on the produce of West India sugars; that, at a subsequent epoch, the duty on the latter was augmented to 15s. per cwt. without any countervailing impost upon the sugar of the East Indies; that, finally, a new arrangement in the mode of laying the duties on sugar was adopted, according to which arrangement the duties on all sugars were to be collected in the same manner, in proportion to quantity; that, the duty upon West India sugar was now fixed at 20s per cwt. making a difference of no more than 10 per cent. in favour of the West India sugar, and, that the same proportion has been retained by the acts, which have, at last, carried the duty to the enormous extent of 27s. per cwt. on all descriptions of West India sugar, leaving a difference in favour of West India sugar of no more than 2s. 8d. in the hundred weight. This difference, the committee state, is quite inadequate to afford the West India planters any protection against the operation of the many and great advantages enjoyed by the East India Company and their servants. They assert, that a difference of 25 per cent. would not have been too much, and that, in fact double that difference would have been an inadequate protection in the home market, and insufficient to compensate the restrictions imposed on the West Indies, for the benefit of the mother country, restrictions from which the East Indians are entirely exempted. "As far," say they, "as these restrictions have been "thought likely to promote the navigation, "and add to the general strength of the "empire, they have been cheerfully ac- "quiesced in; but, in stating our claim to "a countervailing duty, that is to say, a "provision to protect us from the effects of "regulations abridging our natural rights, "and imposing particular burdens, from "which our fellow subjects are exempt, the "committee may be permitted to remark, "that 2s. 8d. per cwt. will not compensate "the mere cost of additional freight, insu- "rance, and charges, of first landing our "goods in Great Britain" [as the law requires,] "re-shipping and transporting them "to a foreign market, in place of being "carried to such foreign market direct, as "may be done from the East India settle- "ments, and in vessels built, owned, and "navigated by aliens, often enjoying the "additional advantage of being neutral."

In order further to show the advantages which the East Indies enjoy over the West Indies, in the cultivation of sugar and in the carrying it to market, the committee state, that the *month's wages* of a labouring peasant in Bengal is only 2s. 6d. They quote the Asiatic Annual Register for an account of the mode of life of the East India labourer, whose subsistence is there described as consisting of unnutritive grains and pulse, seldom of white corn. "Observe his meat; a "pinch of salt, on a leaf, stands by his plate "of rice; a few grains at a time deceive "his palate, while he swallows several "mouthfuls of insipid food; his abste- "miousness is not voluntary; he is sensible "that he is ill-fed. Miserable hovels, se- "cured neither from intrusion nor from "weather, formed of materials, which a "wealthier class would refuse for fuel, hide, "rather than shelter the peasantry. View "the inside of his dwelling; a coarse mat "his bed, the ground his chair and table, "cow-dung his fuel, unglazed earthern- "pots his furniture, a leaf his plate. The "clothing is not better: it consists of a "scarf on the shoulder, another for the "waist, with sandals on the feet: a longer "scarf is all that distinguishes the female. "The dress of the most numerous class is "of that stuff known in trade as wrappers "of packages, while many are content with "sack-cloth. A rugged home-made blan- "ket, to protect him from the wet or cold, "is the only addition or variation known to "the peasant." At the close of this quotation, the committee exclaim: "Such is the "situation of 20 millions of *free* subjects of "the British Empire in India, while its le- "gislature is hunting for imaginary misery "in the West India colonies, where the lot "of the labourer is a thousand times more "fortunate! where his wants are abundantly "supplied in sickness and in health, in "old age as well as in the vigour of his "days; but, at an expense to the planter "bearing no proportion to the wages of "the *oppressed* pesantry in the East." They then state, that the daily wages for hired black labourers in the West Indies is, at least, 1s. 10d. per *day*, more than two thirds as much as the Bengal peasant's labour costs in a month.——To this statement, some persons may be disposed to answer, that, allowing it to be true, allowing that sugar can be cultivated with so much greater facility, and so much cheaper in the East than in the West Indies, there needs no better argument for giving a preference to the former. But, let it first be observed, that the same reasoning would extend to the

total abandonment of the West India colonies. The argument must, indeed, be quite sufficient with all those, who consider the navigation of this country, together with all the power and security that it brings, as being of no value. But, those who attend to the numerous advantages which the mother country derives from her insular colonies in the West; those who recollect, that *there* her dominion may be of as long duration as she pleases; those who recollect that every pound of sugar there raised is carried to Europe, and even to Britain, in her own vessels, navigated by her own seamen; those who recollect, that the West Indies, without pretending to be an "*Empire*," without possessing an influence at home that threatens to rival the Monarch on his throne, without never-ceasing wars and without the superintendance of a Board, in itself more expensive to the nation than the whole of the West India colonial establishment, civil and military; those who recollect, that, without any of these, the West India islands employ more British shipping and more British sailors than "Our Empire in the East," keeping those sailors always within reach, and at the command of the king's navy in time of war; those who take this view of the subject, will, I think, hesitate before they conclude, that the mere circumstance of cheapness in the production is sufficient to warrant a preference of the East-India commodity. There is no one worthy of the name of statesman, no man who looks but only a year or two before him, or, indeed, who looks but a very few years behind him, who must not clearly perceive, that, in preferring the East to the West-Indies, we are pursuing a course the reverse of that which our interests, which the permanence of our power and security dictate. Against East-India possessions there are three great objections, namely, distance, insecurity, and expense. By the immense distance we are deprived, in time of war, of any immediate supply of sailors from the navigation arising out of the possession of East-India territories. This distance, too, added to the circumstance of those territories being on a continent, render the dominion of very precarious duration; insomuch, that there are, already, many persons, who regard it as impossible, that the peninsula of India should own British sway for another twenty years. The expense, arising from various circumstances, is, and always must be, enormous. For the three years last past *a million sterling*, a year, in round numbers, has been specifically granted by Parliament, and, of course, raised in taxes in Great-Britain, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of war carried on *exclusively* for the sake of "our Empire in the East!" Whereas, the expenses exclusively arising from the means employed to *protect* our West-India colonies have not cost, perhaps, to the mother-country, three millions in the last twenty years. But, the above mentioned three millions are a mere cypher, when we are speaking of the expenses occasioned to Britain by her "Empire in the "East." The war in Egypt was for India; solely for India; and, with all its attendant expenses, cost not less than fifteen millions of money. The Cape of Good Hope, while we held it, cost more than all the West India establishment during the same time. Sir Home Popham can bear testimony to the almost incredible expenses of keeping up a fleet in the Asiatic seas. For the sake of "our Empire in the East" we preferred the possession of Ceylon to the balance of Europe, and, what is still worse, we preferred it to the honour of England. For the sake of keeping the French out of Egypt, that is to say, for the sake of "our "Empire in the East," we persisted, (whether necessarily or not) in holding possession of Malta; and, that, for the sake of "our Empire in the East" we are now, as far, at least, as the world can judge from appearance and even from professions, *at war*, no one who recollects the circumstances of the quarrel can entertain the smallest doubt. By referring to the grounds, upon which Lord Melville maintained the necessity of the present war, it will be perceived, that he rested solely on the keeping of Malta, the keeping of Malta being necessary to prevent the invasion of Egypt by the French, and that prevention being necessary to the safety of "our Empire in "the East." His words are, in this particular instance, worth quoting. "Well do "I remember," said he, "the melancholy "moments I passed, when, after reading "the definitive treaty" [which, by the bye, Mr. Pitt approved of in all its parts, and expressly with regard to Malta] "I found "Malta exposed to so much danger of falling into the hands of a power that would "employ it *for our destruction*. The importance of that island has long appeared to "me to be very great, and Europe has, in "the most decisive instances, witnessed it. "By means of Malta it was that the French "attacked and made themselves masters of "Egypt. By Malta it was that we were "enabled to recover that possession. If "Malta remain in our hands, it is impossible that all the efforts of France, that all

" the armaments she can send forth, can " obtain possession of Egypt. Malta, there- " fore, is to be considered as of infinite im- " portance to the strengthening and *security* " *of our Empire in India.* In this view," added he, " it is matter of congratulation, " that Malta is to be considered as a truly " *British* object!"* Mr. Pitt, in urging the necessity of the war, began with Colonel Sebastiani's Report, and ended with the Report of Colonel Sebastiani. This was the burthen of his oration. He made light, comparatively at least, of every other provocation, of every other sign of danger. Every thing else might have been borne; but, Sebastiani's Report proved the intention of Buonaparté to repossess himself of Egypt, and Egypt led to " our Empire in " the East." But, let us take a passage from the speech of this other statesman. He said, that the " necessity of our holding " Malta for *our own security* was the great " point on which the justification of the " war turned." The report of Sebastiani and the declaration of Buonaparté to Lord Whitworth contained, he said, sufficient proof, " that the determination was formed " to renew the hostile projects against " Egypt, and, that the pursuit of such pro- " jects was an undeniable act of hostility " against this country, and *aimed at some of* " *its most important interests.*"† —" If, then," said he, " the design against Egypt be ap- " parent, I desire the House to consider, " whether, upon every principle of justice " and *self-defence*, we were not called on to " take measures of prevention against it; " I desire them to consider, whether it be " not admitted, that our possession of Malta " is essential for the defence of Egypt, and " whether the importance of Egypt to this " country is not in itself sufficiently evi- " dent, from its connexion with *the safety of* " *our Indian possessions.*".... " If, added he, " the question were closed here, I am pre- " pared to maintain, that, on these grounds " alone, the war is both just and *necessary.*"‡ There is, however, something of a still more authentic nature to appeal to; to wit; the official dispatches of the negociation carried on, on our part, by Lord Whitworth. On the 27th of January, 1803, Lord Whitworth wrote home, saying, that the French were pressing their demands relating to the evacuation of Malta by the British troops; in answer to which, the statesman Lord Hawkesbury wrote to Lord Whitworth on the 9th of February, stating, first, that, seeing that the treaty of peace was concluded with an evident view to a continuation of the then distribution of territory and power, and, seeing that France had, of her own accord, materially altered that distribution, his Majesty would be fully justified in keeping in his possession, of the territories stipulated to be given up, such portion as might serve to counterbalance the effect of the changes made by France. Nevertheless, says Lord Hawkesbury, " His Ma- " jesty, anxious to prevent all ground of " misunderstanding, and desirous of con- " solidating the general peace of Europe, " was willing to have waved the preten- " sions he might have a right to advance of " this nature; and, as the other articles of " the definitive treaty have been in a " course of execution on his part, so he " would have been ready to have carried" [to carry] " into effect the true intent and " spirit of the tenth article. A communi- " cation to your lordship would, according- " ly, have been prepared conformably to " this disposition, *if the attention of His* " *Majesty's government had not been attract-* " *ed by the very extraordinary publication of* " *the Report of Colonel Sebastiani.*"* This report, the statesman Lord Hawkesbury first describes, and then says, " it discloses " views in the highest degree injurious to " the *interests of His Majesty's dominions.*" Therefore, Lord Whitworth is instructed *now* to say, that His Majesty's ministers can enter no further into the discussions relative to Malta, unless a satisfactory explanation be given *as to Sebastiani's Report*; and, as no explanation that appeared satisfactory to the ministers ever was given, in that Report, and the consequences apprehended from the sentiments and intentions said to be disclosed in it, we see the cause of the present war; and, in this opinion we are, immediately afterwards, fully confirmed by the declarations of the ministers, and by those of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt, which have been above particularly referred to. For Malta, then, as the means of protecting Egypt, and, for the protection of Egypt, as the means of preserving " our Empire in the East," we are now engaged in a war, which, before the first of January next, will have caused an expenditure of more than *a hundred millions sterling*, and which, in less than a week from this day, will have added *fifteen millions a year* to the taxes of Great-Britain and Ireland, a sum surpassing three-fold, not the *revenue* derived from the trade of India, but the gross amount of the value of every thing

* See his speech, Political Register, Vol. III. p. 1662. — † Ibid. pp. 1676. — ‡ Ibid. p. 1679.

* See Register, Vol. III. p. 1029.

imported into Great-Britain from that country! Is not this purchasing Bengal sugar at a pretty dear rate? Yet, such is the constitution of the East-India Company, such the vigilance, such the address, of the persons, to whom the interests of that Company are committed, such their connexion with the ministry of the day, that we really seem to vie with each other in tendering our purses, in sacrificing our comforts, and in devoting our labour, to their aggrandizement! They have a palace that outshines that of our Sovereign; a patronage that out-rivals his; they have their annual loans and their annual budgets; they have their stock and their public debt; they are a nation within the nation, a government within the government; and yet, as was before stated, they contribute far less to the strength and the real riches of England, than the West-India islands, of the dominion of which we are secure, until we absolutely throw it away, the defence of which is so cheap and so congenial to the nature of our force, and which, nevertheless, we seem to regard, and to treat, as worthless appendages of the kingdom!——On the remaining topic, namely, the additional imposts which have been laid by Parliament, much need not be said here, seeing that it has already been so fully treated in former volumes of this work.* Some parts of the report are, however, too important to be omitted, because they are so strongly expressive of the sentiments and temper of the assembly. "Facts," say the committee, "which cannot be controverted, "will evince that the duties on the productions of a sugar plantation have far surpassed the golden means, within which "ministers profess their intentions to restrain them, and that they have not only "diminished the consumption of West-"India sugar but do not fall on the consumer. It has been the peculiar misfortune of the West-India sugar-planter, "that not many have understood, and fewer "have been disposed to explain, the extent "of his grievances. Far from having the "voice of those who are alleged to sustain "the duties on his staples raised for his "protection, even oppressing him has "been a road to popularity. The financiers, who, in succession, have directed "the administration and revenues of "Great-Britain for the last thirty years, "have all acted as if the impositions on "his commodity had not been carried to a "due extent..... Not satisfied with the "advantages of pre-emption and the various charges of double freight, insurance, "landing, warehousing, and commission, "which are profits to the mother-country "and a direct tax on the colonies; not "content with getting sugar below its real "value, and sometimes under its actual "cost to the importers, by forcing into "the kingdom a quantity disproportioned "to the demand, Great-Britain has, by "laws, which can be supported on no "principle of justice, nor defended on "any plea of necessity, prevented the "sugar-planter from obtaining the reciprocal and natural compensation which "would follow, if his staple should ever "attain a fair, not to say a high, price, "and which, in all other cases, is expected to follow an unnatural depression. "It is true, this fraudulent statute hath "not yet brought her much positive advantage. Its tendency to prevent foreigners to depend on a British market, "if a supply could otherwise be obtained, "cannot be doubted. It has, therefore, "in part, defeated its own object; and, "its effects, joined to the many other "restrictions, expenses, and exactions, "heaped upon the colonies, have prevented sugar from ever reaching that standard, which is supposed to afford a fair "remuneration for labour and capital." After shewing the state of decline, into which the sugar trade has been plunged by these regulations, the committee proceed thus to describe the state of the plantations, as an effect of this cause. Every British "merchant," say they, "holding securities on real estates, is filing bills in "chancery to foreclose, although, when "he has obtained a decree, he hesitates "to enforce it, because he must himself "become proprietor of the plantation, of "which, from fatal experience, he knows "the consequences. No one will now "advance money to relieve those whose "debts approach half the value of their "property, nor even lend moderate sums "without a judgment in ejectment and "release of errors, that, at a moment's "notice he may take out a writ of possession, and enter on the plantation of "his unfortunate debtor. Sheriff's officers "and collectors of the internal taxes are "every where offering for sale the property "of those who have seen better days, and "who must now view their effects purchased for half their real value and less "than half the original cost. All kind "of credit is at an end. A faithful detail "would have the appearance of a frightful caricature. Unless speedy and efficacious means are adopted for giving

* See Vol. VI. p. 82, and the several papers there referred to.

" permanent relief, by a radical change of " measures towards the West-India islands, " the committee must suppose, that British " statesmen join, with little variation, in " the insane exclamation of the French " Jacobin: *Perish our colonies, are we to " avow that we have been in error!* Can " the colonies perish alone? And, will " not the statesmen whose measures shall " complete their ruin, precipitate into the " same abyss the manufactures and com- " merce of the parent state?" After going through a detailed statement, the object of which is to shew the vast importance of the West-India commerce to the mother-country, and in which is clearly shown, that it is much more valuable to her, merely in a trading point of view, than any other branch of commerce of which she is possessed, the committee thus conclude their very elaborate and able report. " Yet, in place of cherishing this " source of national prosperity; in place " of encouraging and extending a market " which no despot can shut against her, " will it hereafter meet belief, when the " mists of fanaticism shall be dissipated, " that, at a moment when all intercourse " with her was proscribed in the most " opulent and commercial states of Europe, " and both force and artifice were em- " ployed to exclude from the others, when " Great Britain was preparing to meet the " mightiest host that ever had been arrayed " against her, and was engaged in a con- " test for national existence, of which " contest her youngest son might not see " the termination; will it be believed, " that, at a moment like this, her states- " men adopted measures more fatal to her " prosperity, than all that the rancorous " hatred or insidious guile of her arch " enemy could have accomplished; and, " that by laws and regulations with- " holding from her West-India colonies a " necessary supply of labourers, giving " undue encouragement to rival settle- " ments, and heaping upon their staples " exorbitant and oppressive imposts, fi- " nally accomplished the overthrow of " these flourishing islands, and, by their " fall, ruined the manufactures, withered " the commerce, and subverted the naval " strength of the empire? Strongly im- " pressed with the present distressed situ- " ation of this country, and the dangers " hanging over it from the probability of " such fatal measures being pursued by " His Majesty's ministers, the committee " finally recommend, that an appeal be " made to our most gracious Soveregn, to " whom none of his oppressed people " have ever appealed in vain, by an hum- " ble petition, which it is presumed their " Honours the Council will wish to join, " setting forth our most prominent grie- " vances, and most humbly praying His " Majesty's most gracious interposition and " protection."——To add any thing here from myself may require an apology to- wards the public, as well as towards the authors of the report, of which I have endeavoured to give an analysis; but, I cannot refrain from expressing my anxious wish, that no irritating measures may be adopted by the ministers; but that, on the contrary, every means, con- sistent with the dignity of His Majesty and with the general interests of the kingdom, may be taken to allay the irritation already unhappily existing, and to arrest, while yet there is time, the progress of those discontents, which evidently threaten totally to alienate the people of Jamaica, if not to sever from the mother-country this her most ancient, always hitherto her most loyal, and still her most valuable colony.

NAVAL INQUIRY.——The commission appointed to make inquiry into the abuses in the dock-yards, &c. &c. is by some, said to have expired. But, this cannot be, be- cause, by law, it was to last to the end of the session of parliament which should come next after the month of December 1804. This commission has already laid ten re- ports before parliament: the *last* is looked for with much anxiety by the public. It is said to be of so interesting a nature, that a great personage has thought it worthy of his particu- lar perusal. It will be remembered, that, when the commission was first formed, many persons thought it *ill-timed*; because, it had been stated by ministers to be a measure not fit to be adopted in time of peace, and be- cause those persons apprehended, in Decem- ber 1802, that we were just upon the eve of a war. The opposition made to the measure by Mr. Canning, Mr. Sturges, and other " young friends " appeared to rest upon a different foundation. In this work, a fear was expressed, that, beginning to operate at the breaking out of a war, it might produce great embarrasment in the naval depart- ment, and might, to a dangerous extent, retard the equipment and sending forth of our fleets; a fear which proved to be by no means unfounded. These embarrassments have, however, been surmounted; and, there can *now* be no good reason for putting an end to, or suspending the proceedings of, the commission of naval inquiry, whose reports have discovered such a scene of peculation as no man, unacquainted with the matter, could have supposed to exist. Lord St.

Vincent is entitled to the gratitude of the country for the establishing of this commission: for dragging forth, and for endeavouring to crush, the swoln upstarts, who were, and who yet are, daily insulting, domineering over, and trampling upon, the people whose blood they have already sucked. These are the things that are hard to bear. A man must be little better than a brute, who can, with indifference, nay, with any degree of patience, see a fellow, who was but a few years, perhaps only a few months, ago, worth not a shilling; a clerk, may be, in some counting house, or a sort of upper servant to some man in power; perhaps, too, amongst the most profligate of wretches; I say, that he who can, with any degree of patience, see such a fellow purchasing estates and purchasing boroughs, conscious that the means have been stolen from him and his fellow-subjects; he who can see this with patience is not a little better, for he is even worse than a brute. Whether the commission, recently given to Sir Charles Middleton, Mr. *Fordyce*, Sir Roger Curtis, Mr. Domett, and Mr. Serle, and dated on the 8th ultimo, be intended to supersede that of the Board of Naval Inquiry, I know not. The reasons for this new commission will, perhaps, by-and-by, appear. In the mean-time, every one, who has an opportunity of so doing, should read with attention, the reports of the Board of Naval Inquiry which has been published.——As somewhat connected with this subject, it is proper here to take some notice of what passed in the House of Lords, on Monday last, the 11th instant. During a recent debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Fox observed, that seeing that the subject of an inquiry into the measures of the late Admiralty Board had not been revived, he supposed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by coming into office, had changed his opinion, with regard to the conduct of that board. To which Mr. Pitt answered, that he still retained all the opinions he had formerly expressed, relative to the conduct of the late Admiralty. Hence, on the day before-mentioned, Lord St. Vincent was induced to ask the ministers in the House of Lords, whether it was true, that it was intended to institute an inquiry into his conduct; for, that it was what he most earnestly wished for. Lord Hawkesbury said he had never before heard of such an intention. Lord St. Vincent said, that he would sit down with nothing short of an unequivocal answer. Lord Hawkesbury then said, that, as a member of His Majesty's council, he had to declare, that he never heard that it was thought of to make such an inquiry.—— It is remarkable enough, that Lord Sidmouth said not a word upon the subject, though certainly the occasion might, considering his late connexion with Lord St. Vincent, have been expected to call him forth. Nor, in the other house, when Mr. Pitt declared that he still retained all his former opinions relative to the late Board of Admiralty, did any of the Addington's say a word. They ought not, one would think, so soon to forget the shelter which they enjoyed behind the name of Lord St. Vincent! The forbearance, and, in some instances, the powerful support they received, merely because they had Lord St. Vincent amongst them! But, his lordship is not one of THE FAMILY. When with them, he was quite out of his place.——The *printing* of the *tenth* report of the Board of Naval Inquiry has been moved, and ordered, in both Houses of Parliament; so that there is every reason to suppose, that the most material parts of it can be laid before the public in the next number of this work. His Royal Highness, the Duke of Clarence, who, of course, takes a particular interest in matters relating to the navy, moved the printing of the report in the House of Lords, and signified his intention of bestowing particular attention on its contents.

NEW MINISTRY.——Matters of more importance than any thing that relates personally to the members of the present cabinet prevented me, last week, from taking any notice of the progress of those contentions, by which to all appearance, they are agitated and shaken.——In page 105, a report was given, as I received it, that, at the earnest and repeated solicitation of Mr. Pitt and some of their common friends, Lord Sidmouth (or "*Mr. Addington,*" as the Pittites continue to call him) had finally consented to the appointment of Dr. Prettyman to the Archipiscopal see of Canterbury. It was observed, besides that, seeing how long Mr. Pitt was well known to have destined Dr. Prettyman to that exalted station, Lord Sidmouth's insisting upon refusing the promotion to that right reverend person could not, were it to take place, be possibly viewed in any other light than that of a barbarous and wanton outrage upon the feelings of Mr. Pitt. To my utter astonishment, however, I heard, before the number I am referring to was closed, that had Lord Sidmouth persevered in his refusal, that Dr. Prettyman was to remain where he was, and that Dr. Sutton, the Bishop of Norwich, was actually promoted to the archbishoprick! This event appears at once to have convinced every one, not only that Lord Sidmouth had obtained a complete

ascendancy in His Majesty's confidence and councils, but, which was a fact not less material, that he had resolved to avail himself of the power, which that ascendancy gave him.—Of the bickerings which have since taken place, the public have heard much. All agree, that Mr. Pitt has been compelled to drink the cup of humiliation to its very dregs; and, his friends, out of office, think he intends to resign, of which intention his early and unexpected development of the budget is, by some, regarded as an infallible sign. Of this opinion, however, I am not, for the reasons stated in page 32 of the present volume. I thought that Lord Sidmouth would have shown more mercy towards his vanquished rival; but, treat him as harshly as he would, I never thought that he would induce him to resign, and this opinion I have constantly expressed. It was supposed, that Lord Sidmouth would not push his triumph so far as finally to refuse Mr. Pitt's solicitations in favour of Dr. Prettyman; but, if he did, it was predicted that Mr. Pitt would not stir, unless his Lordship *absolutely turned him out*, an event that may not be at *so great a distance* as the remaining adherents of the minister *en second* seem to imagine.——The breach has been made too wide ever to be perfectly closed. Attempts are making to close it, and the side which is to yield may easily be discovered from the language of the public journals respectively attached to the Minister and Mr. Pitt. It will be recollected, that the SUN, which is the print exclusively in the interest of the Pitt's, began, under the guise of a free discussion of the Spanish question, a furious attack upon Lord Sidmouth on the 25th of January, that is to say, just at the time when Dr. Sutton's promotion had been finally resolved on by Lord Sidmouth. In the article here alluded to, which will be found in p. 116 of the present volume, the charge of "*indecision*" and "*imbecillity*" was revived; and, in the same journal of the 28th of January, Lords Sidmouth and Hawkesbury were represented as persons "*not of sufficient importance* in the eyes of the country to procure readers for observations upon their conduct." Since that, however, the haughty and insolent writers in the SUN have, gradually, fallen into a softer and more humble tone; till, at last, in that print of the 7th instant, they have made a direct and unequivocal apology for their behaviour. Alluding to the observations that were made on, and the inferences that were drawn from, the articles wherein they assaulted Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury, they say: "The opposition prints, mortified and disheartened at the accession of strength which Mr. Pitt had acquired by his union with Mr. Addington and his friends, the opposition writer has never relaxed in his endeavours to destroy it. The slightest allusion, therefore, in a print which uniformly supported Mr. Pitt, to former differences with his new colleague, was immediately magnified into a systematic attack by Mr. Pitt himself, and an instance of the jealousy and dissatisfaction *supposed* to exist between him and Lord Sidmouth. The speculation was a bold one, but did not succeed; and the best answer to it, as it affects the two persons themselves, is to be found in the *present state of harmony and good understanding in which Mr. Pitt and Lord Sidmouth have continued, in spite of all the efforts of party to produce a separation!*——The attempt to involve Mr. Pitt's name in the dispute was confined to the champion of opposition. Those who pretended to be the exclusive friends of Lord Sidmouth, were eager to manifest their disapprobation of our conduct; no language was too strong to express their indignation; and all for what? Because, in recording a transaction which passed a year ago, and of which, as far as we knew the facts, we had always expressed an unfavourable opinion, we did not retract or stifle that opinion, when confirmed by the additional and complete evidence which it was our duty to lay before the public. We neither sought the occasion to find fault, nor took pains to make the most of it. We are *perfectly ready to allow*, that some of our expressions *might be harsher than, upon sober reflexion, we should wish to repeat*, in relation to any member of a Cabinet of which Mr. Pitt is at the head, and to which, as a whole, we are cordially attached: nor have we the *slightest hesitation in apologizing for such expressions.*" Poor souls! There; in that very apology of the writers in the SUN, the Pitt party knuckled down to that of the Addingtons! There, the "young friends" came down to the earth, at the feet of Brother Hiley and Brother Bragge!

MILITARY FORCE.——All the returns, relative to the army, moved for in the House of Commons, having been laid before that House, we are now enabled to take a tolerably complete view of the state of our regular military force; noticing the army of reserve and militia apart, and always leaving out the volunteers, because, as far as applies to real military duty, whether abroad or at home, they cannot fairly be considered as any force at all. *First*, let us see what is

the total of our force, as it stood on the first day of the present year: *Second*; how it is distributed as to locality: *Third*; in what degree it has increased during the last year: *Fourth*; what are the numbers required annually to make up for the casualties of the regular army: this will lead us, *Fifthly*, to view the effects of Mr. Pitt's Parish-Army bill, and to enquire, whether, according to our present system, there is a probability of an addition being made to the strength of the regular army.—The Guards we will consider as making part of our disposable force, and, therefore, include them with the troops of the line.

1. *Totals of the regular Army on the 1st of January, 1805.*

Cavalry.	Artillery.	Infantry.
21,223	8,559	104,131

2. *Distribution of this Force at the same Period.*

	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Infantry.
Great-Britain.....	14,857	4,708	29,113
Ireland	4,070	968	20,049
	18,927	5,676	49,162
Jersey and Guernsey		112	4,549
Colonies	2,296	2,771	50,420
Total as above ..	21,223	8,559	104,131

Thus, then, it appears, that there was a trifling error in my statement of last week, and that instead of forty-six thousand, we have forty-nine thousand *regular Infantry*, in the whole kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.——In the army, as above stated, there are 21,208 foreigners, nearly half of which are negroes, and East Indians.——Besides the above, we have, however, in the whole United Kingdom, and in Jersey and Guernsey, 20,747 Army of Reserve and Parish Army men; and, in addition thereto, we have 89,809 men of the militia in the United Kingdom.

3. *Increase of the regular Army during the last Year.*

Strength.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Infantry.
At 1st. Jan. 1805	21,223	8,559	104,131
At 1st. Jan. 1804	17,799	7,661	90,523
Increase	3,424	898	13,608
			898
			3,424
Total increase....			17,930

Where has this increase of the regular army arisen? One would have hoped, at first sight, that there had been 17,930 men, besides a number sufficient to make up for the casualties during the year, raised in the United Kingdom, by the ordinary mode of recruiting, and of the King's natural born subjects. But, no such thing. First of all, we must reckon as part of the increase, 7,143 men transferred from the Army of Reserve. This is, in fact, *no addition* to the number of men. Then come about 3,000 Germans. Next about 1,000 Maltese. Next about 1,000 North American fencibles. Next about 5,000 Dutch troops in Demerara. Negroes in the West Indies, and Malays, or sooty slaves of some other name, in Ceylon. Next about 8,000 men raised in Great Britain and Ireland *for rank*. And last of all, comes the ordinary recruiting service for the regular army, which yielded, during the whole year, 901! aye, and of these 901, there were 396 who received bounty as *boys!*——Here, then, are, in all, about 25,000 added, from which if you deduct a-year's casualties of the regular army at home (and nothing was known about those of the army abroad) you will find the remainder to be about 17,000, which is the total amount of the year's increase, and of which increase, notwithstanding all the extraordinary and pernicious efforts made in raising men for rank, not above 4,000, perhaps, consists of white men, being British subjects.

4. *The Waste of the regular Army in the last Year at Home.*

Deaths.	Discharges.	Desertions.
2,116	3,201	4,686
		3,201
		2,116
Total ..		10,003

Abroad it cannot be much less; for there the deaths surpass even the desertions at home. The regular army, then, upon its present strength and its present system, requires, to make up for mere waste, about 20,000 men a year. And, where are they to come from? From the Africans or the Malays? From the recruiting *for rank*, a system which Mr. Pitt has so strongly reprobated, and which every man ought to reprobate? No: they are to come from the Parish Army.

5. *Effects of the Parish-Army Bill.*

England.	Men raised by parish-officers	797
	By regimental officers	498
Total		1,295
Ireland....	By parish-officers	1,181
Scotland.	By parish-officers	235
	By regimental officers	32
Total		267
England		1,295
Ireland		1,181
Total raised in the United Kingdom up to 1st. February.....		2,743

of which number 62 have died, 2 have been discharged, and 361 have *deserted*, that is to say, one man out of every eight men! The bill began to be carried into execution in the beginning of September; so that this far famed project has produced 2,318 effective men in the space of five months. And, observe, that these men are raised for *limited service*, in which service, notwithstanding the tender of an additional bounty, they appear to be very much disposed to continue. There have been, during the same space of time, only 376 of them who have enlisted into the regular army! Is it not to insult the understandings of men to persevere in calling this "An act for establishing "and maintaining a permanent additional "force for the defence of the realm, and to "provide for the augmenting of his Majesty's "regular forces?"——Without another word said upon the subject, I think it must appear evident to every one, who pays the slightest attention to the facts above stated, that, if the present system be pursued, it is impossible that an addition should be made to the regular army, but that, on the contrary, weak as that army already is, it must daily become weaker.

FAMILY EPISTLES.

It is well known, that in the great measure for recruiting the regular army, by which the present "vigorous and efficient" ministry triumphed over the "incapacity "and imbecility" of their predecessors, much reliance was had on the operation of a sort of *family feeling*, which it was to create and cherish between the old battalions on actual service, and the new parish battalions at home. Half a dozen scraps of dirty paper with military cyphers, wafted across the Atlantic or the Pacific, two or three times in a year, were supposed capable of kindling the sacred flames of heroism and patriotism in the bosoms of idle boys, vagabonds, and reputed thieves. Unfortunately, however, there has hitherto been no opportunity of making the experiment. The second battalions as yet have no existence, except in the appointment of a handsome proportion of their officers. One of these gentlemen, having nothing else to do, has amused himself with collecting the *family-feelings*, of the two or three stragglers, whom he has had to pass into the hands of the drill-serjeants; and as he has a knack of versification, a little relish of classical literature, and a great deal of leisure, he has endeavoured to express the sentiments of *Mr. Pitt's* heroes, as well as he could, in the poetical language of *Ovid's* heroines. We have been so fortunate as to obtain a correct copy of the First Epistle, which we here insert. Our readers will perceive one little deviation in it from the plan of the original. Several allusions are made to letters supposed to have been formerly received from the first battalion. This was essentially necessary; as it is precisely in the effect of such an intercourse, that our great master of human nature, *Mr. Pitt*, places his chief hope of success.——There is another sort of *family-feelings* which we beg leave to recommend, as affording excellent matter for a different set of more tender Epistles: we mean the feelings which of late have been so interestingly displayed by the two branches of the present Cabinet. The sudden change of passions, which would be to be delineated in the *Rupture*, the *Reconciliation*, the *Quarrel*, and the *Compromise*, would very much enliven this species of half-dramatic poetry. At present we only throw out this hint to our readers. Should any thing result from it, we shall be happy in communicating it to the Public.

EPISTLE I.

From BATTALION THE SECOND in England to BATTALION THE FIRST in the West-Indies.

To you, long lost beyond th'Atlantic main,
We write, dear BATT;——O! come, nor write again.
Now *Surinam* is ours, though PITT lament,
With WILBERFORCE, the slaves that must be sent;
And sure 'tis hardly worth our while to keep,
Where soldiers die by scores, like rotten sheep.
Oh! when the transports came for you to sail,
Would, they had founder'd in some furious gale!
Then should not we, in ale-houses forlorn,
O'er beer and bitters for our comrades mourn;
Then should not we, divided from your side,
Our days mispent in ill-taught drills deride;
Nor to beguile the night, while farmers snore,
Alone their henroosts and their coops explore.
Ah! with what fond anxiety we view
In fancy, every chance that threatens you!

IMITATIONS.

PENELOPE ULIXI.

Hanc tua Penelope lento tibi mittit, Ulixe;
Nil mihi rescribas ut tamen: ipse veni.
Troja jacet certè, Danaïs invisa puellis:
Vix Priamus tanti, totaque Troja, fuit.
O utinam tunc, cum Lacedæmona classe petebet,
Obrutus insanis esset adulter aquis!
Non ego deserto jacuissem frigida lecto,
Nec quererer tardos ire relicta dies;

Nec mihi, quærenti spatiosam fallere noctem,
Lassaret viduas pendula tela manus.
Quando ego non timui graviora perfcula veris?
Res est solliciti plena timoris amor
In te fingebam violentos Troas ituros, &c. &c.

What! though *Brown-Ladies fondly meet your loves
In jasmine-bow'rs and orange-scented groves;
Or to the fresh Savannah's grassy bed
Your jetty favourites, "nothing loth," are led;
What! though of teeth, that shine like ivory white,
And pouting lips, that tempt the kiss, you write,
Till for one moment kindling from your fire,
For equal joys we burn with new desire:
Yet, when you bring before our startled eyes
Black scurvies here, there hoary leprosies,
And hideous yaws with all their train impure;
We find—what you may vainly seek—a cure.
What! though your stills with rum delicious flow,
And limes, if punch you chuse, in hedges grow;
What! though to us but by your praises known,
The lux'ry of mandram is all your own;
While we in thought partake your noble thirst,
And BATT THE SECOND sozks like BATT THE FIRST,
Too soon we read, what evils take their turn;
Dry colicks rack, and yellow fevers burn;
That many an honest fellow drunk at night,
Lies stretch'd a tainted corse ere morning-light.
Though aldermen might hear with envious grief
Your boast, that turtle-steaks are cheap as beef,
And to make sauce, for which our boisterous seas
Are dredg'd with danger, oysters grow† on trees;
Full dearly you may buy the luscious dish;
Yourselves perhaps the living food of fish,
Snapt by some hungry shark, and sent to beg
Inglorious, with BROOKE WATSON's wooden leg.
Then, what dire tales old invalids repeat!
Of snakes that measure three and thirty feet,
Monsters, that suck down oxen with their bones,
As boys gulp cherries nor regard the stones;
Of alligators with tremendous jaws
That open to their ears, and teeth like saws;
Eels, which the hand that touches them, benumb;
Huge bats, whose wings would cover our great drum;
The fatal fruit, whose poison none can heal,
Decking with treacherous charms the manchineel;
Earthquakes, that swallow; hurricanes, that tear,
And whirl men, trees, and houses through the air.
In short, whatever terrible is told
Of those hot climes, for you our blood runs cold.
But Heav'n be prais'd! Though we but little heed
Our chaplain's mumbled pray'rs, for you they speed.
Nor have you perish'd whole: some part alive,
To tell your fortunes and your toil survive.
The ship-news mention captains, where and when,
Arrived in safety—though without their men;

While parents who yet hope their sons to view,
And girls, who still believe their sweethearts true,
Pour their glad raptures, and to sight present
The last kind token from the regiment,
Hot pickles, rich preserves, a keg of rum
Or bag of dollars, yet an honest sum;
Soon, by the Bank re-coin'd, to steal the place
Of English crowns, before our Sovereign's face.
With bits of broken pipes, and slops of beer,
While his old dame around him hangs to hear,
Poor Serjeant TOMS describes his last campaign,
And points the single hand, which now remains.
"Suppose," he cries, "this drop of beer the sea;"
And spills some beer: "These bits of pipe are we.
"*St. Lucia* here with little loss we got;
"*Tobago* there we took without a shot:
"Here *Curassoa* beat our troops away;
"There *Demerara* fell an easy prey.
"*But now for *Surinam*: my finger shows
"Where full of sands and shoals the river flows;
"This battery at *Bram's-point* the mouth com-
"mands,
"But soon it struck to our victorious bands.
"This ten leagues Eastward, is *Warappa Creek*,
"Whence MAITLAND march'd, and left us for a
"week.
"And there, see there! is *Frederici Fort*;
"Our bayoners there made a little sport
"Till the broad bottoms flying in alarm
"Blew up their powder, and blew off my arm.
"Mynheer grew sick, when MAITLAND here was
"seen
"Descending by the *Commewyne* to GREEN,
"So begg'd for terms, which had he lik'd before
"We should have sav'd some knocks, he many
"more."
The drummer-boy, your son of doubtful name
Learn'd all at Chelsea; so to us it came.
He told us too, how all one dismal night,
Through woods at noon impervious to the light,
O'er swamps from recent rains yet more unsound,
Now stuck, now sliding on the slipp'ry ground,
Led by black guides, and led perhaps astray,
With weary feet you held your toilsome way:
And still our bosoms beat, till you were clear,
Form'd in good order on the Dutchmen's rear.
But, ah! though won almost without a stroke
All that was there Batavian, wears our yoke,

IMITATIONS.

Denique, quisquis erat castris jugulatus Achivis,
Frigidius glacie pectus amantis erat.
Sed bene consulu it casto deus æquus amori.
Versa est in cinerem sospite Troja viro.
Argolici rediere duces; altaria fumant;
Ponitur ad patrios barbara præda deos.
Grata ferunt nymphæ pro salvis dona maritis:
Illi victa suis Troia fata canunt.

NOTES.

* In Jamaica the female sex is divided into White Women, Brown Ladies, and Black Women and Ladies. For what follows see the different accounts of the climate, diseases, and natural history of the West Indies.

† See Sir Hans Sloane's account of the Mangrove-tree.

IMITATIONS.

Mirantur justique senes, trepidæque puellæ:
Narrantis conjux pendet ab ore viri.
Atque aliquis positâ monstrat fera prœlia mensâ;
Pingit et exiguo Pergama tota mero.
"Hâc ibat Simois, hîc est Sigeia tellus;
"Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis.
"Illîc Æacides, illîc tendebat Ulixes:
Hîc lacer admissos terruit Hector equos.
Omnia namque tuo senior, te quærere misso,
Rettulerat nato Nestor; at ille mihi.

Rettullit et ferro Rhesumque Dolonaque cæsos,
* * * * * * * * * *
Usque metu micuere sinus, dum victor amicum
Dictus es Ismariis isse par agmen equis.
Sed mihi quid prodest vestris disjecta lacertis
Ilios, et, murus quod fuit ante, solum;
Si maneo, qualis Trojâ durante, manebam,
Virque mihi, dempto fine carendus, abest?

NOTE.

* The Gazette account will show the old serjeant's accuracy. See Polit. Reg. Vol. V. 1099.

What boots it us; if, distant as before,
Between us still Atlantic billows roar?
Now* the Plantations, till'd in times of old
By British hands, and rich with British gold,
No more their Sugars for Dutch Vrows prepare,
But sweeten breakfasts for the British fair:
Now what the master, what the slave consumes
Employs our ships, our forges, and our looms;
Whence many an annual flourish will be made
On rising means, and ever-growing trade,
Till at PITT's soothing strains, stock-jobbers close
Their eyes with CURTIS, in secure repose;
Till manufacturers with merchants vie
New capital, fresh credit to supply,
Nor heed, as bills and balances increase,
What ruin'd houses mark another peace.
Yet you, the victors, still detain'd from home,
We know not why, we know not whither, roam;
If now, where rocky *Curassoa* near
Your arms defies, with mightier pow'rs you steer;
If now your course to *Guadaloupe* you bend,
Or the strong shores that *Martinique* defend,
Which first we fortified, then gave away,
To find our soldier's work some future day.
All from the islands come, or from the main,
We ask about you;—but we ask in vain.
By all who go we write, and to their care
Give letters "for *Barbadoes* and elsewhere."
We sent to *Glasgow*: *Glasgow* nothing knew.
To *Cork* we sent; and *Cork* had nothing true.
Better for us, that in some dull blockade,
You, with our tars, whole years had been delay'd,
Than conquer'd colonies, which PITT once more
May prompt some specious puppet to restore,
The price of peace.—Ah! wiser by the event,
Our vows for your success we now repent.
Where then would be your station, we should know,
And dread alone the climate as your foe.
Now we have scope for fears of every kind,
By land, by sea: all, all, distract our mind.
Caught by strange comrades, whom you there have met,
Haply you now your family forget,
At us poor rustics laugh, and mimic, how
We hold a musket, as we held a plough.
False be that charge; and may you have the grace,
Whenever free, to quit that hated place.
For us, by menaces, by flatteries tried,
We with all others to enlist denied;
And would deny; still faithful, still the same,
Resolved to share your fortunes and your name.
Around us corporals and serjeants prest;
Recruiting constables in scarlet drest;
Beadles, for helmets changing gold laced hats,
Long coats for skirtless jackets, whips for canes;
Churchwardens, scorning the meek air of trade
For the fierce looks of martial masquerade;
Drill vestry-clerks, inspecting overseers,
And all the staff of all the volunteers.
Why should Lieutenant LING employ our pen,
From crimping cod advanc'd to crimping men,
With Captain COFFIN, Adjutant PTISAN,
And Ensign once, now Colonel PATTYPAN;
Why all the crew, on whom ignobly here
Is lavish'd, what with blood you buy so dear?
Theirs higher bounties, theirs superior pay;
Theirs finer cloaths, accoutrements more gay;
To them alone belong, without a scar,
"Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war;"
They reign at Court; and ever in their praise,
PITT, ADDINGTON, alike their voices raise.
Small are, alas! the numbers which we boast,
Scarce two or three, contending with a host.
We are too weak to drive this trifling race
That mock your semblance, and usurp your place.
Come then, oh! come, and vindicate from shame
The honours, that should await a soldier's name.
We, whom you left raw lads, compared to these,
Are steady veterans, come whene'er you please.

IMITATIONS.

Jam seges est ubi Troja fuit, resecandaque falce
Luxuriat Phrygio sanguine pinguis humus.
Semisepulta virûm curvis teriuntur aratris
Ossa; *ruinosas* occulit herba *domos*.

Victor abes; nec scire mihi, quæ causa morandi,
Aut in quo lateas ferreus orbe, licet.
Quisquis ad hæc vertit peregrinam littora puppim.
Ille mihi de te multa rogatus abit;
Quamque tibi reddar, si te modo viderit usquam,
Traditur huic digitis charta notata meis.
Nos Pylon, antiqui Nelcia Nestoris arva,
Misimus. Incerta est fama remissa Pylo.
Misimus et Sparten. Sparte quoque nescia veri,
Quas habitas terras, aut ubi lentus abes.
Utilius starent etiam nunc mœnia Phœbi.
(Irascor votis hæc levis ipsa meis!)
Scirem ubi pugnares, et tantum bella timerem,
Et mea cum multis juncta querela foret.
Quid timeam ignoro: timeo tamen omnia demens;
Et patet in curas area lata meas.
Quæcunque æquor habet, quæcunque pericula tellus.
Tam longæ causas suspicor esse moræ.
Hæc ego dum stultè meditor (quæ vestra libido est)
Esse peregrino captus amore potes.
Forsitan et narres, quam sit tibi rustica conjux,
Quæ tantum lanas non sinit esse rudes.

NOTE.

* This part of Guiana was first colonized by the English, afterwards taken by the Dutch, and finally exchanged with them for New York.

IMITATIONS.

Fallar; et hoc crimen tenues vanescat in auras:
Nevè, revertendi liber, abesse velis.
Me pater Icarius viduo decedere lecto
Cogit, et immensas increpat usque moras.
Increpet usque licet: tua sum, tua dicar oportet
Penelope; conjux semper Ulixis ero.
Dulichii, Samiique, et quos tulit alta Zacynthos,
Turba ruunt in me luxuriosa, proci;
Inque tuâ regnant, nullis prohibentibus, aulâ.
Viscera nostra, tuæ dilaniantur opes.
Quid tibi Pisandrum, Polybumque, Medontaque dirum,
Eurymachique avidas Antinoique manus,
Atque alios referam, quos omnes turpiter absens
Ipse tuo partis sanguine rebus alis?
Tres sumus imbelles numero; * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Nec mihi sunt vires inimicos pellere tectis;
Tu citius venias, portus et ara, tuis.
Certe ego, quæ fueram, te decedente, puella
Protinus ut redeas, facta videbor anus.

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